this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalised and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees. Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact because of their flexible loose weave.

The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realisation of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

(1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island, even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood, cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods. In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Daroinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding.

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees).

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees.

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world.

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

Y2000 each to make Y18,000 available. If the lowest bid is Y1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of Y200 for each Y2000 advanced and will repay Y2100 a month, which includes Y100 interest (rishi) 474 426

Amount of the loan	Y18,000 (2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800 (200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	Y16,200
Interest paid	900 (100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	Y2700 (Y1800 plus Y900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets Y20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid Y21,000 in ten monthly installments of Y2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid Y1880 for Y2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received Y7520 (Y1880 x 4) and repays Y8400 (Y2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced Y18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of Y21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making Y2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default. [184] [777]

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than Y20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fishermen or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 248 -- ANALYST]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1993 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginoza village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted.

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck.

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a harakobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery.

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese).

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality.

According to a Ginoza midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

3

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Matsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names.

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Wa, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5]

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc.

In Matsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nte, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen.

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Umato (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jira (m); Samra (m and f but scarce); Miyo (m); Uto (f); Kanashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health.

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child.

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us."

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,' " he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully.

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures. 161 217

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [mm]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

217 need information having to do with widows, orphans, and the war dead. An [648] interesting study might revolve around comparisons between the temporary 'koseki' and the new one. A study of the 'museki' persons should be very revealing in regard to aspects of lower-class life.

Usefulness in Research The 'koseki' is a mine of information of great potential value to anthropologists and other social scientists. A study of the personal names of people, especially women, [777] would help show when new ideas came into the village. Name changes are often registered because a person feels his luck will change with a better-sounding name. Those 'koseki' which record the 'yagō', or house name, would enable one to make an extensive survey of the munchu system. A complete study of a 'son's' population should include supplementary records from the land ownership register and tax rolls.

When more accurate records are kept upon those who have left the village for urban work, the 'koseki' will provide many opportunities to study the process and pace of urbanization. Finally, in the process of copying a 'koseki', innumerable opportunities arise for consulting 'son' office personnel on customs and practices in the villages, thus providing new insights into Okinawan life. All in all, the 'koseki' is a most useful document whose possibilities have scarcely been tapped by social scientists.